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COMPULSORY EDUCATION
By Professor J. A. DALE

THE THEATRE PERIL

CANADIAN ENGINEERS and TRADE UNIONISM
OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

From Our Own Correspondents

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
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MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA.

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Glasgow Tackles Housing Problems

Over 4000 Families Said to Be Practically Homeless and on Corporation's Waiting List.

The annual conference of the Scottish Labor Housing Association was held recently in Glasgow, Scotland, and was presided over by Baillie Wheatley. About 400 delegates were present, many of them women.

In his opening remarks, Baillie Wheatley stated that the housing conditions in Glasgow were worse than a year ago. Over 4000 families, practically homeless, were on the waiting list of the corporation house factor, and it could be safely assumed that thousands of others were in a similar position. The density of the population per acre in the city at the present time was appalling. Continuing, Baillie Wheatley said he saw no hope of any substantial reduction in the cost of building while building material was in the hands of private profit-makers, who had raised the price in some cases from 800 to 1200 per cent. The enormous profits obtained by many was encouraging to those who made them to spend money on luxuries, and labor was in consequence being diverted to the production of these instead of to the building of houses.

The chairman advocated the adoption of a definite policy in the framing of which they should consider: First, capturing the land for the people immediately; second, the creation of a Scottish national bank; third, the establishment of public works for the manufacture of building material; fourth, the abolition of speculative building contractors and the substitution therefore of municipal works departments or of direct contracts with trade unions; lastly, the boycotting by the trade unions of luxury building until every family had a healthy home.

The conference was addressed on various phases of the housing question by several Labor members of Parliament. Mr. W. Adamson, M. P., leader of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, expressed the hope that the working-class movement would take an even more active interest in the housing problem than it had done. They must, he said, take the matter into their own hands and find a solution that would suit the requirements and ideals of their own class. They required better co-operation with each other than they now had; and all sections should be working in closer harmony than they were at present doing.

Mr. Adamson pointed out that the present franchise placed 75 per cent of the voting power in the



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hands of the working-class movement of the country. Once they realized the fact they would be on the fair way to finding a speedy and satisfactory solution of the housing and many other problems. The task that lay before the Scottish Labor Housing Association and all other associations in the Labor movement was, first, to work unitedly to put men into the House of Commons, where the laws were made, and, secondly, into the local bodies, where they were administered. With 75 per cent of the total population comprised of the working classes they would only be claiming their own in demanding 75 per cent of the representation in Parliament and in the council chambers.

Rubbish as Building Material

Mr. John Robertson, M. P., said that he was not hopeful that the Housing Acts or any section of the nation outside of the workers themselves would improve the housing conditions. He advocated the utilization of the immense heaps of rubbish at the collieries for the manufacture of building material.

The chairman moved, Mr. Stewart, Glasgow Trades Council, seconding, the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz: (1) "That the conference reaffirms the con-

vention that healthy and convenient houses at the average rents now being paid can only be provided by local authorities with the assistance of state loans free of interest. (2) That the Scottish public authorities be asked to take steps necessary to establish a national Scottish bank which shall be owned and controlled by the public authorities and used to finance the housing schemes of Scotland."

It was also resolved by the conference: "That, as the statutory power of local authorities under the various Housing Acts was adequate to enable them to provide the necessary houses, it was undesirable to call in the assistance of any person or companies for such a purpose; and, for the purpose of providing healthy houses for the people the conference calls upon the local authorities immediately to organize works departments in conjunction with the motions: (1) "That public authorities should be empowered to enter into the possession of the land required for houses, the owner to be paid the ratable value of the land required; failing to obtain the power, public authorities be urged to act on their own responsibility. And (2) "That public authorities be called upon to establish works for the manufacture of the material necessary for the erection of houses to meet local requirements."

LOBBYIST FOR LABOR

A labor lobbyist will be a feature of the coming session of the Ontario Legislature. The executive officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at a meeting recently, decided to station a salaried representative at the Legislature to take care of the interest of the trades union movement there during the session. In addition to watching matters at the legislature, the salaried official will be expected to devote some of his time to general organization work for the trades unions.



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The Theatre Peril

In writing this article, it is not my intention to injure the theatre business, for which I have the greatest sympathy and keenest admiration; it is far from my intention to cause added worry to the gentlemen who are identified with amusing and educating the public through the medium of the stage. Owing to the fact that I have owned and operated a theatre, I fully appreciate the difficulties, the hazards, the trials and tribulations of catering to the public, theatrically.

In making my case, I do not feel disposed to blame the City Commissioners, the fire department, the police department, or the theatrical management. Neither is the public entirely responsible. Ignorance—thick, solid, thoughtless ignorance—is at the bottom of the whole trouble. If we continue as at present, the public of Montreal will pay a terrible price. It is to avoid the impending and inevitable disaster that I write.

Some years ago I was on an extended trip to the South land. I desired to break the journey at Chicago for a day, and to resume by taking the night train for Florida. On a Wednesday afternoon, I wandered up and down Randolph Street, seeking some form of amusement. After an inspection of the offerings, I decided to see Eddie Foy in "Mr. Bluebeard," at the New Iroquois Theatre. However, when I applied at the office for a ticket, I was informed that the only available seats were in the gallery. The mothers of the city had packed the theatre with their children. So I strolled down the street for a short walk, undecided what to do.

Upon retracing my steps, I noticed a commotion in front of the Iroquois. Little groups were knotted here and there evidently discussing some unusual occurrence. I addressed an individual who appeared to possess some information. In answer to my query, he stated that there had been a panic, but that everybody had escaped. I have always reflected, that the truly remarkable thing about the situation was that those who had managed exit, vanished into the thin air. I could not locate anyone who had actually been in the building at the time of the panic. The only plausible explanation is, that many had rushed away from the scene,

stamped with the horrors they had seen, while others scattered to all the available phones to assure relatives and friends of their safety.

Suddenly from all directions came the clangour of the fire bells. The apparatus was appearing at furious speed. I looked toward the entrance. A wraith of smoke was curling up from the arch and winding itself over the doorways like a sombre crepe. I still recollect the singular slowness and the appalling definiteness with which it twisted itself into its funeral arrangement as a squad of firemen dashed in the entrance, axes in hand. They re-

scene, those who had escaped began to wend their way back to the scene of horror. Rumors of the catastrophe sped with lightning speed. Fathers, husbands, relatives and friends, all made for the scene. Frantic parents fought with the policemen like mad men, the fire lines were maintained only with the utmost difficulty, and then they began bringing them out, corpse after corpse, some with their clothing torn to shreds, some blackened a little with the smoke, many crushed beyond possibility of identification. To me the procession seemed endless. Five hundred women and children were laid out upon the side-walk, upon restaurant tables, upon passing trucks, everywhere where there was space to lay a bleeding body.

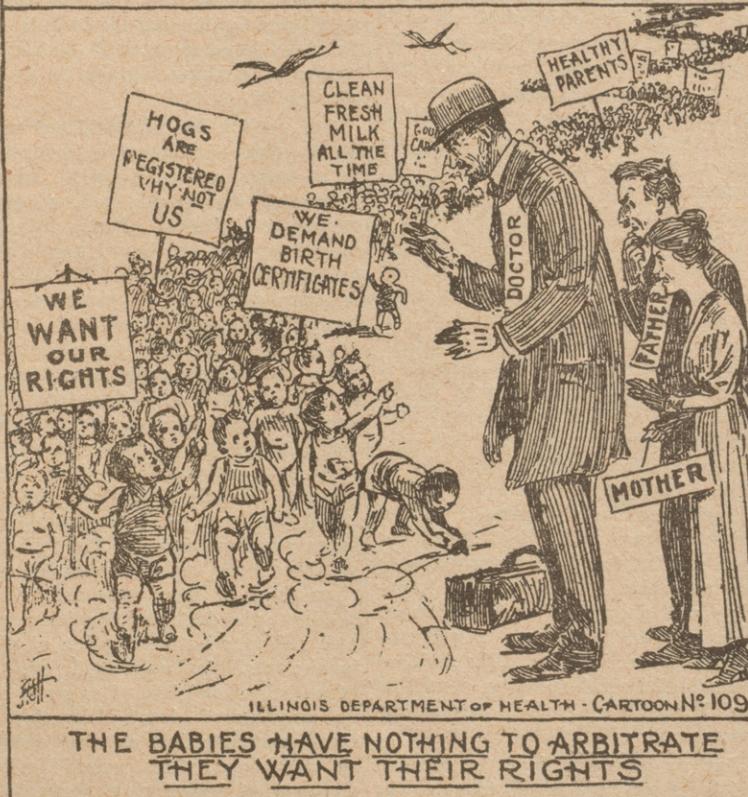
spectacle from the front, the view was a solid presentation of heads, each presenting individual grimaces or contours of death in its most rigorous form.

I noted at the time with blank astonishment that the plush upon the seats was not even scorched. Except in the dome, there was hardly any discoloration in the decorations. The asbestos curtain hung at quarter mast in perfect tack. Subsequent investigation showed that a spot light had sputtered and ignited one of the drops. Men climbed into the wings to extinguish it and then the asbestos curtain was run down, but the curtain suddenly stuck. Then it was that Eddie Foy stepped to the front of the stage in a desperate effort to avoid a panic. The fire spread from one scenery to another, frantic efforts were made to lower the curtain. Foy never retreated until the fire was dropping around him, and his audience was in perfect rout. Now the mechanics of that curtain were perfect, but in some way a stage door had been left open and the place was draughty. When the attempt was made to drop the curtain, it bellied out just as a sail is bent with the wind. So long as that pressure was behind it, no power on earth could lower that curtain. Had that piece of asbestos dropped as was intended in an emergency, there would have been no Iroquois panic.

Following the fire, frenzied officials, the public press and the bereaved, dashed into a wild campaign to place the blame and to prosecute the guilty. The owners were placed on trial for manslaughter, the architect was assaulted, but no one was convicted. Every other theatre in the city of Chicago was closed. By-laws were created to make all public places safe. The seats were so rearranged that an occupant might walk directly through a row of seats to an exit. All steps in the theatre were prohibited, slopes were substituted, and aisles were widened. The theatre had to be open on two sides, either to street or alley-way. Smoking was prohibited, and solid steel curtains, not rolling curtains, were provided. Carpets were entirely removed, all exits were automatic, pressure from the inside immediately releasing them. It took the Iroquois catastrophe to awaken the people of Chicago to their peril. Only when the best of Chicago's families were wiped out, were laws passed

(Continued on page 7)

A STRIKE IN BABYLAND



THE BABIES HAVE NOTHING TO ARBITRATE
THEY WANT THEIR RIGHTS

appeared in a few seconds with blanched faces and staring eyes. The veteran chief of the department issued rapid orders. The men scrambled up the ladders to attack the roof, and then bedlam broke loose. Around the corner they came, hundreds of them, with hair flying in the wind, in tights, red, pink, blue, down the icy street they swept, frantic, screaming with their burns, mad with terror. It was the chorus of "Mr. Bluebeard". They had just made their way from the stage to the alley, and thence to the street. As if to heighten the delirium of the

I obtained admission to the building. The trend of events was very clearly demonstrated; it was an open book. The fire exits had been newly painted, the levers which operated them were sticky with paint. Before they could be used, the crowds had jammed against the doors and effectively blocked them. At the points where the exits from the gallery communicated with the foyer, there was a sharp rectangular turn at either side. In both aisles the people had stumbled and then piled up, one upon the other, to the very ceiling. In facing this

Compulsory Education

(By Professor J. A. DALE.)

The following article is written by Professor J. A. Dale of McGill University as an introduction to a forthcoming book by Mr. Irving Vincent, principal of Edward VII School, Montreal, on compulsory education in Quebec, and is printed here by consent of both authors:—

What is the best we can do for our children? This is the question we are all asking in our own homes. In most modern societies the question is partly answered by the existence of schools. The ideal towards which these schools are aiming (more or less consciously and with varying success), is the guidance of childhood into manhood and womanhood, through a community life which fosters the healthy growth of mind and body and character. This is what we seek for our own children.

It takes very little experience of life to know that the advantages we seek are not always enjoyed by all the children in the community, and that not only the children but the community are losers thereby. The conviction has become almost universal that this should not be. The personal ideal has expanded into the social, and demands at least the opportunity of education for every child however unfortunate. This demand, expressed in legislation, is known as compulsory education, or compulsory school attendance. Thus the typical modern state provides not only the opportunities for education (in varying degrees), but also protection for the children of school age; so that not one of them shall be prevented, by the ignorance or poverty or selfishness of anyone, from taking advantage of such opportunities as are offered for his betterment. The state, which is the mass of parents and guardians, thus takes the same view of the welfare of all its children, as the devoted parent does of the welfare of his own.

Some people dislike or fear the idea of compulsion. It is unfortunate that under this harsh term education presents its least attractive side. In truth, compulsory education is a children's charter of liberty. It gives at least a minimum of insurance against neglect and exploitation. It gives freedom to develop under the best available influences; freedom to escape the handicaps of ignorance and poverty; freedom to make a better preparation for the work and play of life. This will become increasingly clearer as schools themselves develop, and grow more attractive and useful, more convincingly responsive to the demands of child life, and production of good, happy and prosperous citizenship. There is little need to fear compulsion in this matter. All wise legislation contains ample provision for cases of hardship, and there is no reason why, with so much experience to draw upon, ours should not be of the wisest. Essentially compulsion comes as the last sanction of a measure, whose only prohibition is against injurious abuse, and whose positive aim is solely the opening up of possi-

bilities for a healthier growth into a richer and fuller life, already enjoyed by the fortunate.

That is the kind of compulsion — the force to clear away obstacles to freer development, personal and national — which we need in the province of Quebec. We do not need to follow slavishly what has been done elsewhere, but to work out a system best suited to our own conditions. Our institutions have grown out of our past, along lines indicated by our history, actuated by the spirit of our own people, working for the welfare of a community in many respects unique. We need to work out the common principles of educational justice in terms of our own circumstances. One of the chief difficulties in the way of agreement has been the tendency to argue from cases not really analogous. This is specially noticeable in the case of the parallel with revolutionary France. It is the part of wisdom to study our own circumstances, and to mould our institutions in line with our traditions, yet at the same time in tune with the advancing ideals of a changing world.

If we do this we shall have many gains. We shall at once be rid of the false idea of uniformity, and be well started to a common ground of co-operation with those who differ from us. French Canadians and English Canadians are each the heir of a culture which is organic and vital to them. Neither can accept that of its neighbor for the asking, and of course neither will yield to force. Each can develop its own according to its own genius, while increasing knowledge will show that each has much to learn from the other. I will confess that there is much in the finished product of French-speaking education that I would be glad to see in our own.

But we have one fault in common which we can join hands to cure, the early desertion of our schools. Candid study of the statistics of school attendance proves beyond a doubt, that the great majority of our scholars leave school too early, and that many of our children do not attend school at all. With this fact before us, it is the merest self-deception to say that we are doing what we publicly profess to be the best for children.

Very little study reveals to us that any system of education is only one of the products of the total social, economic, and political forces which mould the community, and in which the community expresses itself. To students of education this sounds a mere truism, but it is also a startling and far-reaching discovery, which every educational authority will have to make for itself in course of time—

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a disquieting discovery, but one which will give them the clue to the solution of their problems. Let no one think that our present system, even if made universal, would be perfect. If so it would be unique among human institutions. But it would become firm ground for advance and each section could develop as progressively as allowed by its own limitations, and by those imposed upon it by the necessity of working together in a dual community.

Our civilization has achieved much to be proud of, marred by much that is a shame and a menace. In the sphere of education I need only point to the sad figures of our infantile mortality, and the heavy wastage of our school population. The burden is aggravated by the presence of a large heterogeneous mass of foreign immigrants, seeking our citizenship, often at the pressing invitation of our agents and advertisements. For many of their children our denominational education finds no place: we have as a community given little thought to their welfare in the promised land, nor to the inevitable consequence of our neglect. The lost lives of these little ones, the wasted precious days of our absentee school children, the lost opportunities of a real and true nationalization of alien immigrants, the unbridged gap between school and life of so many who go unprepared into citizenship — these constitute just as truly a waste as that from which arise the by-products of industry, a waste to be redeemed in the same way, by knowledge and scientific treatment, though in terms of human material. For what is waste but a name for that for which we have not discovered a use, or which we have failed to put to use?

Nor can we satisfy ourselves with the plea "genius will out". This is often true, and a just source of pride in indomitable character and talent. But no one can count the amount of repressed or undeveloped talent, nor begin to calculate the sum of its loss.

No! in our education as in our industry, in the development of our human as of our material resources, the only line of real progress is from the individualistic to the co-operative, from the pioneering to the scientific. The problem is to retain the old initiative, but to turn it to the common

good; and to enlist in that great service all the capacity that has failed to find its outlet, and so failed to make its contribution. We may disagree about the remedies for social ills not less urgent. But here French and English, Catholic and Protestant, capitalist and wage-earner, can all agree, however much they may differ in educational ideals and practice.

The first step is to know the facts of the case, and to know each other's case. In this Mr. Vincent's book will do great service. His facts are carefully collected and honestly presented. He states the arguments against compulsory education in the words of their exponents, and deals faithfully with them, not in the spirit of controversy, but in a generous enthusiasm and a sanguine desire to convince.

In opening up the benefits of education to all our children we shall have to meet many practical questions not to be considered here. The first requisite, and one of the chief advantages of universal education, is a school census — a complete list of all the children of school age. This is the basis for the estimate of cost, capital and current. It must be borne in mind that the census will provide a significant index of the returns upon the investment of public money under the present system.

But the cost is not the chief obstacle. It has been overcome in many nations which have had to provide more schools than we shall need. And after all, we shall not wish to put the plea of poverty. When the investment is widely enough realized, the financing will be easy. As in the finance of war, where there's a will there's a way. We have only to realize that the production of good citizens is the greatest and most vital of all our national industries.

The chief difficulty lies in our racial and religious divisions. Its solution lies in sympathetic and tolerant understanding. The necessary co-operation can only be based on respect for our differences; we must make it clear that this movement has no thought of attack on the legal rights of our fellow citizens, and no offence against their religious faith, with whatever force of conviction we may prefer, our won.

OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

Glasgow, January 31st.

A MOVEMENT representing the first efforts of the staff side of the Civil Service to bring about a recognition of the position of the middle classes in relation to the present cost of living is to be inaugurated. Special meetings are to be held with the object of directing attention by the Civil Service Alliance, and directly voicing the demand that salaries and bonuses shall at least be brought up to the level in purchasing power of the rates paid before the war. The service is at present in a state of profound dissatisfaction. Its leaders affirm that patience has almost reached breaking point.

The claim of the Treasurer that no further advance can be granted because the practice of increasing bonuses has ceased in other occupations is challenged. It is pointed out that since the last increase conceded in the Civil Service, six months ago, 2,760,000 persons have received increases amounting to £933,000 per week, and that within the last month 210,000 received advances totalling £48,000 per week.

A comparison of present salaries and bonuses with total earnings before the war shows that civil servants have lost from 14.4 per cent. to 38 per cent. of purchasing power. This is in addition to sums which have to be paid in increased income tax and other form of direct taxation. There is, however, another point. When the "Labor Gazette" announces the figures as to the cost of living it takes no note of quality. If a man pays twice as much for a pair of boots which only wear half as long, the increase in his expenditure on boots is 300 per cent. To a less extent this holds good in relation to the nutritive values of food. In all this men on fix-

ed salaries are badly hit. All these points are to be dealt with at the meetings of the Alliance. The meetings are to be attended by local members of Parliament, and decisions of far-reaching consequences are anticipated.

Transport Workers.

At the request of the affiliated unions catering for commercial drivers, horse and mechanical, and allied workers, the National Transport Workers Federation are submitting to the employers an application for an immediate advance of 10s. per week for adult workers and 5s. for juniors, for all employed in commercial transport throughout Great Britain. It is understood that a conference with the employers to discuss the application will be arranged shortly. The application, it should be stated, applies only to commercial vehicles, and therefore does not embrace tram and bus workers.

Bank Clerks.

The general public may be surprised to know that many bank employees are earning less than municipal dustmen, and that policemen are in many cases in receipt of much better remuneration", state the committee of the Bank Officers' Guild, who are now launching a big campaign to make their aims better known. The banks, according to the Guild, have, with very few exceptions, failed to realize that the prices of 1914 are not the prices of 1920, and it is apparent that bank clerks throughout the country are becoming convinced that the only way to express their point of view is through a virile national association. The manifesto adds:—"While there is no suggestion of militancy in the Guild's propaganda, the movement having accepted the conciliatory principle of the Whitley Council,

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cil, yet such are the conditions under which many bank clerks are laboring that a strong and successful appeal must be made if many homes are to be made reasonably happy and free from something very near to complete poverty."

Labor Conference.

At a conference of the Scottish Council Executive of the Labor Party and the Town and County Councillors held at Glasgow this week, the question of housing, civic milk supply, and civic self-determination were discussed. In his address, Councillor James Welsh, who presided, referred to the remarkable advance made by Labor at the recent elections when the previous number of 499 was raised to 807 representatives on the local authorities throughout the country. That was a very good sign as it indicated that the principles for which Labor had fought for so many years were at last beginning to receive the consent of the great bulk of the community. That result could never have been achieved without propaganda work, and it was to encourage such work that conferences such as this were convened. They were out to create a state of society in which the conditions which prevailed now would be abolished, and every man and woman given the opportunity to live a decent and healthy life. He counselled them to frame a definite programme, and argued that the Labor movement could produce as good administrators as any other section of the community.

A resolution, which was carried unanimously, demanded a fuller measure of civic self-determination to local authorities, so that they would be able to proceed with all schemes of civic welfare approved of by the citizens without having to apply to Parliament, by means of Provisional Orders, for permission. Another resolution, which was also unanimously approved, "requesting all Labor members of Town Councils to strive to secure the establishment of municipal milk supplies as the most effective and economical

means of production and distribution", was ably supported by a number of speakers.

The Government's housing policy was next considered, and the two Housing Acts passed during the past year were criticized as being utterly inadequate to solve the problem. The conference passed a resolution to "reaffirm the Labor Party's demand that the State shall undertake full responsibility for the housing of the people, and shall make grants of capital from national resources free of interest, to local authorities to enable them to provide cottage houses at the lowest possible rents."

Abolishing Profiteering

With a view to the complete elimination of profiteering in municipal service, the Glasgow Labor Party has proposed that a Works Department should be established to undertake all contracts in connection with the Town Council. If this is carried out the workers would be employed under better conditions, and the ratepayers would be saved thousands of pounds.

Teachers' Grievance.

A mass meeting of non-graduate and graduate teachers in primary schools in the West of Scotland was held in Glasgow this week for the purpose of discussing the non-graduate position as indicated in the national minimum scales. After a lengthy discussion it was proposed that the meeting decide to form a section for primary teachers within the Educational Institute. It was also moved that there should be no new organization. It was argued that as primary teachers they held the majority in the Institute, and, in consequence, should set themselves to mould the policy of the Institute. It was suggested that the Institute be asked to call a meeting of the primary teachers dissatisfied with the scales. The first proposal was carried by a large majority, and a provisional committee was appointed to meet with the Institute.

James Gibson.

Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

The political pot is still simmering quietly at Ottawa and rumors of impending crises and manoeuvres fill the air. Of all the Ministers Mr. Arthur Meighen alone gives tongue and he is continuing the oratorial pilgrimage which he began some weeks ago, by a visit to the West where he will address the Board of Trade. It is to be hoped he will not repeat the indiscretions of his last visit to Winnipeg, when he and his colleague Senator Robertson managed to frustrate a satisfactory settlement of the strike which the provincial government had arranged and when he earned the permanent hostility of labor by his stupid and unjustifiable characterization of labor leaders as "either idealists or knaves, mostly knaves." Mr. Meighen not infrequently allows his passion for a caustic comment to get him into trouble. He is at present sailing on the protectionist tack and no doubt the Winnipeg Board of Trade whom he is to address will find his recent sentiments highly congenial.

Meanwhile Senator MacLennan, the author of the National party kite, has sailed for England where he will doubtless be able to compare notes with Lord Birkenhead, who has proposed a similar departure there. There has been no massed rally to his standards and only two newspapers of any importance, the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec Chronicle, have given the new party their blessing. The Ottawa Journal, which is the organ of the government at the Capital, made a ferocious editorial attack upon it and banned it with bell, book and candle. It charged the origin of the new party to the door of the high protectionist cliques who were dissatisfied with the moderate tariff attitude of the Coalition and asserted that their object was to break up the Coalition and get rid of the Liberal members of it. It denounced high protectionism with a fervor worthy of the Grain-growers' Guide and asserted that if its sponsors destroyed the Coalition Government as they seemed bent upon doing, the people would turn to very unexpected gods. Its conclusion was that if the National party zealots were sincerely anxious to preserve the sacred tariff intact, their course was unwise and would inevitably result in the ruin of the tariff system. So it is evident that some of the ruling spirits of the administration turned a cold and unfriendly eye upon the worthy Senator from Sydney and his works.

But the Coalition is not in good case. Sickness spreads among its Ministers like a plague of Egypt. Mr. Ballantyne and Mr. Tolmie are the latest victims.

Meanwhile the affairs of the country are slowly approaching a point

where nothing will avail to save parties and politicians whose only apparent purpose is to save themselves. A crop of promises unkept, of attractive prospects now found to be illusory, of barren manoeuvres and of brazen hypocrisies easily seen through, have engendered a disgust which is rapidly changing to contempt. The Coalition — and also the Liberals for that matter — are deeply perturbed at the idea of the increasing number of electors who are turning to support the farmers or the labor movement. It is not that these political infidels care much for new parties nor new leaders but they are attracted by what they regard as sincerity of purpose and steadfastness in action. No "party" can ever be formed to support one man—Mr. Lloyd George and Sir R. Borden can be called as witnesses. Simultaneously no anti-farmer organization will rob the farmers' leaders of widespread popular support. The party or group which lays down definite principles for the guidance of its actions and sticks to them through prosperity and adversity will always have a great advantage in moral prestige and the quality of its adherents.

The Calders and Rowells of the political earth are apt to make light of principles. Mr. Rowell thinks they should only apply in religion—and to take the view that politics is a purely opportunist adventure.

Now we believe that political principles are by no means a by-gone vogue, but that they are still definitely held by large bodies of people in this country. The dictionary definition of principles is "a settled ground or basis of conduct or practice." When the ordinary man speaks of political principles he means guiding rules of policy which are generally understood. Such rules are equivalent to pledges that those who hold them will act within certain circumscribed bounds and along certain well-defined lines. If the Coalition has been charged with complete lack of principle the reason is that they have signally failed to present to the country any fixed body of principles in regard to which they are united.

There is a paralyzing doubt in the country as to their intentions and men are frustrated in their desire to know exactly what is the weight of Conservatism as compared with Liberalism in the councils of the Coalition. The general Amory prospective fear is that it is very light but till it is revealed men of both the old factions are loathe to commit themselves to permanent support. Meanwhile the Coalition are confronted by at least one party which has a "clear and definite 'ground of practice'" and is obviously convincing a large section of the community rightly or wrongly

that it has a definite objective and will pursue it consistently. It has achieved despite some petty divergences of opinion and local jealousies an amazing measure of cohesion within its ranks and against its formidable phalanx in the west the scattered and feeble pickets of the Coalition will be scattered like chaff. There are no such fruitful sources of political unrest as doubt and uncertainty of a government's purposes and in addition besides paralysing business of the government itself.

But even if our present rulers could evolve a body of principles on which they could make some effort at permanent co-operation, other vital ingredients necessary to command public confidence would be lacking and could probably never be procured, truthfulness in high places, personal loyalty to colleagues and sincere zeal in the solution of pressing social problems as distinguished for mere juggling with them on platforms or on the floor of Parliament. The country wants to know where it stands financially and why "profiteering" is impossible to check. It yearns for honest leadership and guidance and intends to seek them where it thinks they can be found. The average Canadian is not enamoured of "class struggles" which is a favorite bogey of Ministers but in the present circumstance she will not be deterred from supporting a party or programme merely because some gentlemen not renowned for their altruism or public spirit declare they are based upon "class" ideas. The electorate are growing more and more alive to the fact that the government of the country has been for nearly two generations conducted in the interests of a special class and that already highly favored by wealth and position and they are in a mood to give other classes a chance and see if they can bring a greater degree of unselfishness to the national advancement. It is going to demand henceforth that the men who govern it shall be worthy of the spirit of its armies in the war and shall not waste their energies and the public money in self-seeking schemes for the perpetuation of their own tenure of office.

There is considerable agitation in Cabinet circles at Ottawa over the letter which Lord Grey on his return to England from Washington addressed to the London Times concerning the American controversy over the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the British attitude thereto. In this long communication Lord Grey reviewed the situation at length, gave it as his opinion that the British Government would be willing to accept most of the reservations demanded by the Republican senators and stated that he saw no objection to the United States having six votes in the League which would place it on a party as far as voting strength went with the British Empire. The extra votes to the Dominions which gave the British peoples a predominance

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of six to one over the Americans was one of the chief grounds of complaint and attack by the hostile Republicans.

Now if the United States received six votes, it is unlikely that France or Japan would be content with less and the whole terms of the League would have to be rewritten. As the Manitoba Free Press points out, it would mean a vital change in the status of Canada. As things stand, Canada is a member in her own right and in the assembly of the League of Nations she is equal on the one hand to the United States and on the other to the little Republic of Liberia. If the constitution of the League is to be altered as Lord Grey suggests, then Canada loses her special identity and becomes merely one sixth of a member.

The letter has aroused a tremendous discussion in the United States and has deeply incensed the supporters of President Wilson who declare its publication without consultation with him and without his knowledge is a gross breach of diplomatic etiquette. Lord Curzon the British Foreign Secretary while he admits knowing that the letter was being prepared, denies that he had any acquaintance with its actual terms till he saw it in the Times but it must be taken that a letter emanating from a man who was in the position of accredited British plenipotentiary to the American Government has an official character and may be accepted to express the considered view of the British Government.

Among the resolutions moved by Republican Senators who demand reservations is one by Senator Lentroot of Wisconsin which seeks a declaration that the United States will not be bound by any decision in which Canada has a vote. Lord Grey makes no specific exception of this reservation though he does pay a certain amount of lip-service to the claims of the Dominions. Canada is deeply interested in this controversy and the latest developments therein. Yet it transpires that our Cabinet were not consulted as to the advisability of the publication of the Grey letter and knew nothing of its

semi-official character and its implication for the whole of the British Commonwealth, the Canadian Government had the right to be consulted. Did not the Prince of Wales say in Toronto on October 4, 1919 "The Dominions are no longer colonies, they are sister nations of the British nation" and have not British statesmen of all parties asserted that the only future for the Commonwealth is on a free and equal partnership of autonomous units. But here when there is an opportunity of putting these fine sentiments into practice the British Foreign Office cheerfully forgets them and proceeds to treat our Cabinet with contemptuous neglect. There is just the possibility that they may have reached our vagabond Premier as he was a-voyaging upon the Spanish Main and obtained his endorsement of a letter, but a man who has abdicated the active functions of government through ill-health ought not to bind his country without the sanction of his colleagues who are on active duty. Professor O. D. Skelton of Queen's University, the most distinguished economist in Canada, raises the whole question in a letter to the Toronto Globe in which this pertinent question "Does the Canadian Government approve of Lord Grey's communication? If it does the question becomes one between the Canadian Government and the Canadian people. If it does not as one would gather from its declaration in the past, it should speak and speak at once."

The Manitoba Free Press recently said in an editorial "Our membership in the League of Nations is our charter of nationhood and Canada will not give it up. To agree to the concession hinted at by Lord Grey should be to give our consent to an international declaration that Canada is not a nation."

Now ever since Sir Robert Borden returned from the Peace Conference we have been assured that by that statesman, by Mr. Rowell, Mr. Doherty and other governmental spokesmen that a great constitutional advance had been secured by their efforts and Canada was at least a nation in the same sense as Belgium or Italy was a nation. There were some heretics who ventured to cast doubts upon the value of these claims but they were rebuked as partisan scoffers. Now it transpires that the British Foreign Office at least do not regard us as a nation capable of attending to our own foreign policy. It is said that Mr. Rowell who has been the foremost exponent of the nation "theory is not sleeping at nights with anxiety and worry at the slight and that the Government will lodge a protest against the cavalier treatment accorded them. At any rate, the matter ought to be made the subject of debate in the House of Commons soon after it meets.

Sir Robert Borden has curious ideas of a rest cure. He has been attending a variety of luncheons with illustrious people from the

King downwards and we are told that he was a visitor to the British House of Commons. His countenance we are informed, bore evidence of cheerfulness and good health but his legs were feeble. One critical Tory at the Capital who has long deplored his vacillation as a source of ruin to his party, on reading this, made the unkind observation that the weakness which had long been evident in his spine had now reached a lower level in his body. He has sailed for this continent and is expected in New York in the near future but will not come to Ottawa. We are also told that there is no immediate prospect of his resumption of official duties, so he will be basking in the sunshine of the southern skies while his distracted colleagues are plunging about in a sea of troubles in the north.

With the session little more than a week distant the first harbingers are beginning to appear. One of the early arrivals is that distinguished ex-leader of agrarian revolt in the west Mr. R. C. Henders, who is now an object of cold contempt by his late followers. They have cast him out with all the ruthlessness that good Methodist and Presbyterian families are wont to treat erring daughters and he is sorely aggrieved. He is of the belief that time will vindicate his actions and intends to devote many hours of research ere the session opens to prepare a case which will justify his stand on the tariff during the Budget debate and confound his critics for evermore.

The Saskatchewan Graingrowers have just concluded a very successful convention in which the most notable event was their decision to postpone for a year any attempt to enter provincial politics. Mr. Musselman, the Secretary made a most significant speech in which he repudiated the idea that there was a class organization and declared that they must try to rally all classes of the community to the support of their programme. He also warned them that they must pick the best possible candidates whether they were farmers or not and went so far as to say that it would be necessary for them to send some lawyers to Ottawa as their representatives.

J. A. Stevenson.

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THE THEATRE PERIL

(Continued from page 3)

that would amply safeguard the theatre goers of that city.

The question I should like to ask you is this. Must the city of Montreal have a catastrophe of this kind before the places of amusement are made safe for the public? The overcrowding of the theatres in this city is scandalous. I went into a picture house on St. Catherine Street west and found the usher providing rattan seats for patrons, which he placed in the aisles, adjacent to a series of boxes, effectively blocking the exit of people on the east side of that playhouse. Three other places visited on the following day were likewise offenders. But the limit of my endurance was reached when I went to see the boxing match at the Monument National on Monday night.

Before the appearance of Eugene Brosseau, there was a short intermission. I made my way to the lobby which is just behind the last tier of seats. At least a hundred and fifty men were furiously smoking cigarettes. A policeman walked through, saying, "Smoke outside, please."

I watched him meander through the crowd, and I heard the drone of his voice, first in French and then in English, as he repeated his litany, "Smoke outside, please."

Now, the newspapers stated that there were 3,500 people in that building. The fact is, the building was packed, even though 3,500 people were not there, because the Monument National had no such capacity. Suddenly a cheer went up from the inside, Gene Brosseau had appeared in the arena. A series of wild shouts went up, attesting the loyalty of the boxing public toward this splendid young man. There was a wild

rush of the erstwhile smokers for their seats. I was somewhat curious, so I waited behind. The stubs of three cigarettes were burning within a distance of ten feet of where I stood. I stamped them out and began the leisurely count of what remained. I counted up to fifty before I made my way into the auditorium. My first notion was to pick up my hat and go, but the temptation to watch the contest was too strong. I sat in the "K" row. After it was all over, I pulled out my watch when I left my seat, and made a note of the time. It took just eighteen minutes to reach the street. I might want to see Brosseau in his future contest, but I do not think it is fair to compel me to risk my life in so doing.

I have made no mention of other theatres, but in some of these the abuses are just as deadly. Of one thing I am convinced, unless we radically alter this situation in Montreal, the day will inevitably come when we will be burnt and crushed to the bone for our apathy. Then the point is this: do you not believe that these laws had better be changed now, or would you rather wait for a repetition of the Iroquois disaster? If you believe in a change, why not spare the time to buy a postal card and stamp whenever you see this danger which threatens to wipe out your children, your wife, your sister, yes, your entire home, and write words of sharp protest to our City Commissioners? If you are too lazy or too indifferent to do it, invest in an asbestos coat and fireman's chapeau, because you will be a performer at a performance where you will find this rig quite handy.

George Pierce.

FATHER AND THE BRICKS.

An angry father met his daughter's young man in the hall, and materially hastened his departure in the usual manner. Then he returned to the room and sat down.

"I hope you didn't hurt Harry", sobbed the daughter.

"No," fiercely replied the old man, picking up his foot and nursing it. "No, I didn't hurt him, but if ever he comes here again with bricks in his coat-tail pocket I'll kill him!"

And the girl smiled softly through her tears.—"London Tit-Bits".

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White Collar Worker's Strike

THOUSANDS of canvassers employed by the Pearl Assurance Company of Great Britain, one of the largest organizations of its kind in the world, have been on strike for more than three weeks. So far as we know, not a single reference to this great strike, the most extensive concerning the black-coated workers in the English-speaking labor movement, has appeared in any Canadian newspaper except the Railroader, which gave the news in its London Letter.

Lord Northcliffe, who is noted amongst other things, for his advocacy of trade unionism amongst his own journalists and other brain workers, stepped into the fight with all the power of his newspapers on the side of the company's canvassers. He also contributed \$5,000 a day to the funds of the strikers.

Evidently the Pearl Assurance Company directors have had enough of the attempt to beat their employers, as witness the following from the London Daily Mail of January 31st:

"The Pearl Assurance Company directors have recognized the Pearl Agents' Union. To-day they meet a group of Labor representatives, including Mr. Bernard Brooke, general secretary of the Assurance Workers' Union, to which so many thousands of their agents belong.

"We congratulate the Pearl directors on their increasing wisdom. They are learning lessons in the school through which other great industries passed many years ago. It is not surprising that their movement should be slow. This is the first insurance strike on record. It is one of the first strikes of 'black-coated' men.

"The men on strike, who are also novices in this unpleasant but sometimes inevitable form of warfare, must ascertain their minds to the responsibility of a long fight. They must be very resolute. Faith in the justice of a good cause will bring victory.

"The Daily Mail makes a further announcement to-day respecting the progress of the National Appeal on behalf of the Pearl agents which will be made by The Daily Mail and other Northcliffe papers if the Pearl directors unduly prolong the struggle. We are already assured of great public sympathy, which will make itself visible in the collection of a great sum if occasion calls for it."

K. C.

Piano Factory Reopens

A LITTLE more light comes through in the case of John Brimsmeads & Sons who closed their famous piano factory because of labor demands and labor laziness, although the demand for pianos was far in excess of the supply. One dispatch tells us that the workers claims Brimsmeads' stuck to old-fashioned, expensive ways, and another tells us that the factory will be re-opened for a probationary period under conditions to be mutually agreed upon between employer and employees.

So the editorial in last issue of the Railroader which threw doubt on John Brimsmeads & Sons' story as a complete record, came pretty near the mark.

K. C.

Dooley on the Open Shop

"What is all this talk in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey.

"Why, don't you know. 'Really I'm surprised at yer ignorance, Hinnissey. What is th' open shop? Sure, 'tis a shop where they kape th' door open t' accomodate the constant stream of min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper thin th' min that has th' jobs. 'Tis like this Hinnissey. Suppose wan of these freeborn Amerycan citizens is workin' in an open shop for th' princely wages of one large iron dollar a day for tin hours. Along comes another freeborn son-of-a-gun an' sez t' th' boss, 'I think I could handle th' job for 90 cents.' 'Sure!, sez th' boss, an the wan dollar man goes out into th' erool wruld t' exercise his inalienable rights as a free-born Amerycan citizen and seab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnissey. An' who gets th' benefit? Thru, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more for money than he does for his right eye. It's all principle with him. He hates t' see min robbed of their indipendence regardless of inything ilse.'"

"But", said Mr. Hennessey, "these open shop min ye minshun say they are for the unions, if properly conducted."

"Sure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted. An' there ye are. An' how wud they have them conducted? No strikes; no rules; no contracts; no scales; barely iny wages, an' dam few mimbers." —Peter Finley Dunne.

CANADA'S FALLEN

By Arthur Stanley BOURINOT, The Canadian Magazine

We who are left must wait the years' slow healing,

Seeing the things they loved, the life they lost—

The clouds that out the east come, huge, concealing,

The angry sunset, burnished, tempest-tossed.

How will we bear earth's beauty, visions, wonder,

Knowing they loved them in the self-same way—

Th' exulting lightning followed by deep thunder,

Th' exhilaration of each dawning day?

Banners of northern lights for them loom greener.

Waving as waves the sea-weed's streamered head;

Where bent the swaying wheat, the sun-burned gleaner

Will find in their remembrance flowers of red.

Oh, life must be immortal for their sake;

Oh, earth will rest them gently till they wake.

: o : GOD KNOWS WHERE

The Pastor: So God has sent you two more little brothers, Dolly?

Dolly (brightly): Yes, and He knows where the money's coming from. I heard daddy say so.—Agowan.

OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, January 23rd,

LABOR over here is looking with interest to the Court of Inquiry which is to commence sittings presently with a view to examining the claim of British dockers for a minimum daily wage of 16s., improved overtime rates and better working conditions generally. Lord Shaw, one of our prominent judges, who has a high reputation as a judicial authority, is to preside. The port authorities and shipping companies have three representatives on the Court, and Labor is represented by Mr. Harry Gosling, president, Transport Workers' Federation, Mr. Robert Williams, secretary of the Federation and Mr. Ben Tillett, Dockers' Union secretary.

This is the first court of the kind to be held under recent legislation and a fine chance will be afforded Labor for making public facts and figures ascertainable from witnesses regarding profits made and reserves piled up by the shipowning fraternity. During the war these people made almost countless millions, the acquisition of which naturally reacted upon the cost of all imported goods as has been responsible to an unforgivable extent for the high prices from which we are suffering. Ben Tillett has been seriously ill from blood poisoning, but latest reports are that he is on his way to recovery and by the time the public sittings of the Court commence his experience and sympathy with the workers will, it is expected, be fully available.

One of the novelties of procedure is that Mr. Ernest Bevin, dockers' organizer, and Mr. James Sexton, M.P., of Liverpool dockers, are to act as "counsel for the prosecution", and, knowing what I do of both, I can safely predict a warm time for shipowning witnesses who venture to take the stand.

As I write there are evidences of unrest among the weavers, chiefly in Lancashire. They want the same bonus as spinners and cardroom hands, and strikes are spoken of as probabilities. It is alleged also that in certain mills cardroom operatives have been "played off"—left without employment owing to the accumulation of rovings and other causes, when at the same time machinery is fully at work in the spinning department. The employers are forced eventually to promise that every effort should be made to so arrange machinery and work so that the same continuity of work should obtain in cardrooms as elsewhere. Now the cotton manufacturers are paying weavers less bonus than spinners—which is just the way to precipitate trouble.

Postal workers are growing anxious because wages claims are being tardily dealt with. I suppose it

would be fair to say that, taking into account increased living costs, these workers are just about as well off as before the war. But prices continue steadily to rise and they contend they are entitled to still higher wages. The matter has been placed before the Postmaster General, but Government departments are tortoise-like in their methods and there are significant suggestions that a little ginger should be introduced. In some of the cities it would take only the least encouragement to make postal workers decide that the public should have to fetch their own letters for a few days or go without them. In London there is a special and peculiar grievance. Sorters have to pass an "efficiency barrier". They do not mind that; they do not object in the least to fair efficiency standards. But on the top of this there are secret reports by overseers who have never been through the sorter grade and could not pass the tests to save their lives, and the men are emphatically of the opinion that there is neither need nor fairness in such examinations as these. Anyhow, about a couple of thousands are very much up in arms about it.

The most quaint piece of mediaevalism we have had occasion to

chuckle over in London lately is concerned neither with our political anachronisms nor our ancient class prejudices. These can be amusing enough, but funnier than either is a form which a London firm has been requiring its employees to sign. It ran "I hereby agree to enter the service of Messrs. _____ Ltd. on the understanding that I do not belong to any trade union or society, and, that I will not join any such society before first advising the Company." Can you beat it? There was a strike, of course.

Editorial note:—This form would not be considered mediaeval by any employers in this city. They would think it right up to date.

At last we have been able to bring to a close the strike of moulders which has lasted for eighteen weeks and caused three times the contingent as the original unemployment. Whereas the strikers numbered 50,000, workers thrown out in consequence of lack of castings amounted to something like 150,000. This week the members of the three unions on strike have ballotted for resumption on certain terms and the result is just to hand:—For, 17,677; against, 11,263; majority for, 6,404. The terms were:

1. Advance of 5s. a week.
2. Resumption by January 26.
3. No victimization.
4. A new conference with the employers soon.

It cannot be said that the moulders have gained a great deal, but I am bound to say that the other

Much of the industrial propaganda used today is an effort to make words do the work of acts. If an employer would convince his men that he is square, that his interest is in their welfare as well as his own, he cannot do it by speeches and bulletins. He must do it by acts—acts that cost him something. Too much of the propaganda which is used to abate unrest is devoted to telling the worker what he ought to do. It would be a good thing if the initiative came from the other side.

unions, while generously supporting them with money, were not any too sweet on the strike. There was a perhaps natural feeling that the three moulders' unions should have been content to continue to act with the other 48 unions, in the engineering trades, who were accepting the Arbitration Court's awards. The moulders have won by their strike exactly the sum the other organizations gained by arbitration, and spent all their funds in getting it. Still, these are points there is no need to labor, although this letter would not be a true reflex of the situation if I did not just mention them.

The miners' campaign for nationalization is going splendidly from the point of view of public interest and attendances at meetings. Everywhere the Federation speakers and those associated with them go they are accorded the most enthusiastic reception and the volume of opinion which it has known was lying loose in the country, is being focussed in a rather wonderful way. The next step is the Trade Union Congress which meets next month to decide what shall be done to—in the terms of the resolution—"compel the Government to accept the majority report of the Commission." This commission I should explain, was appointed by the Government, and reported in favor of nationalization. There are feelings in certain quarters here that the Government, having not carried the report into effect, the miners should call a general strike. It is too early to predict, but the possibility is not so remote as some people over here imagine.

Our six Labor M.P.s who have gone over to Ireland to study conditions at first hand have had an early taste of the liveliness which is prevailing in that disturbed land. The impression the Labor men are receiving is that Ireland has been mismanaged, but the names of the solutions of the difficulty submitted for their consideration are legion, and I am afraid they will have to exhibit the wisdom of Solomon if they are to tell us when they return exactly what is to be done with Ireland.

Ethelbert Pogson.

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Canadian Engineers and Trade Unionism

Some Canadian engineers are discussing the advisability of becoming linked with the labor movement. In this connection, the following extracts from a Montrealer's letter in the "Canadian Engineer", of January 8th, may be interesting:

"I wish to voice my "amen" to what Mr. Christie and Mr. Mills have said on the subject of "Trade Unionism and Engineers", and to express my own thought that we really need more than a "trade union". Our engineering societies can, and I believe they will, gradually develop into that general form of organization, even though under some more euphonious name, and probably with loud protestations to the contrary. Necessity is a hard taskmaster, and he is driving the rank and file of the profession very hard these days.

But I also think that wherever an "industrial union" or "industrial council" operates in the industrial unit in which an engineer is employed, he should become a member of such industrial union or council, and learn to associate in a business way with the shop stewards and other "menials", who are our partners in industrial production.

We might, and with profit to ourselves, occasionally sit down at a table and drink a glass of "remembrance beer" with a real "labor leader" of the type common to the A. F. of L. (Some think it more appropriate to pronounce the "L" with a Cockney accent.) Or we might even dine with one of those nefarious "foreign agitators", — possibly English or Scotch, as at Winnipeg, — and absorb more than the bill-of-fare. It would do us good, professionally and otherwise, to know what these men are thinking; for the superb ignorance of most of us professionals upon a great many subjects outside of that for which we have a special training is truly marvellous. We are sometimes worse than ignorant: we are grossly misinformed through the daily press.

The sooner we engineers, and other professionals for that matter, come down from our self-erected mental pedestals and recognize the fact that we are but laborers in the common vineyard — along with the rest of struggling, sweating humanity — the better it will be both for us as a group of professionals and for the community at large.

If we are such superior humans as some would have us believe, why, may I ask, is it so seldom recognized on the payroll? The "boss" always seems to be perfectly willing to give us all the "recognition" we could possibly ask, — anywhere else. Engineers

working for industrial firms have a particularly hard time gaining that form of "recognition" which the butcher and baker will accept, but consulting engineers also have a hard time securing fees commensurate with the services which they render.

There is no definite line of demarcation between mental and manual labor, the work of brain or brawn. It requires a certain amount of manual labor on the part of the best engineers in order that they may apply their mental attainments, and the efficient handling of the busy end of a shovel requires a certain amount of mental labor. The work of some professionals suffers materially because of the lack of that amount of manual labor which is requisite to make it most effective, and vice versa. The first bridge engineer probably both mentally designed and physically constructed his own bridge by cutting down a tree so it would fall across a stream.

It might be stated that the "trade" unions cut through the industries along "craft" or "professional" lines. That is, all the carpenters are in one organization,

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no matter whether they are building country bungalows, laying factory floors or erecting wooden forms for concrete bridges. This form of union organization has the better opportunity, if it will but use it, to produce, by education, a very high grade of carpenters, men with whom their trade is a profession and who are really craftsmen. By some it is not thought to be a good fighting formation when a strike become necessary, either for the men themselves or for the public at large; for the many small strikes which it usually engenders

keep industry in a turmoil without anyone except those directly concerned knowing much of what it is all about.

The other form of labor organizations, the "industrial" unions, do not cut through the industries, but are co-ordinate with the industry in which they are formed, and are intended to include all the employees in that industry. They do not offer the same educational opportunities as to the "trade" or "craft" or "professional" unions, but it seems to me that they do promise to bring about finally a certain harmony in industry which is likely to be of great benefit to the workmen and to the public as well.

Under this form of organization fewer strikes occur, and, when they do, not one "trade", but the entire "industry" goes out, the issue is more clearly joined, and in such a way that everyone is likely to know the cause of the trouble. There is a "trade" strike of the mechanics at the Montreal water works now, and this is the third day of very grievous inconvenience and danger for the public; yet practically no one knew the strike was threatening, and few of us are even to-day in a position to judge the merits of the case.

Engineers certainly need careful organization along both "trade" and "industrial" lines. In the labor world most workmen are in favor of one type of union or the other; I am in favor of both. It seems to me the "trade" union should be principally a mutual benefit and educational or "professional" centre, while the "industrial" union should be, for the present at least, primarily the "arm" for use when "arguing" with the "boss", if anyone wants to put it that way; that is, the "economic" union, which is the only medium with which the workers can meet the employers' "economic" unions for the purpose of "collective bargaining", which, we are told, is to solve the labor-capital problem. The co-organization of the



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two is no more impossible or impracticable than the cross-indexing of a library; and, given the desire to do it, probably presents no more real difficulties.

I think every engineer should be a member of his proper engineering society, and that all the engineering societies should be closely federated into a sort of central engineering council, as has already been done to some extent. They should have the same, and no more, legal recognition and protection that labor unions may have, for what we ask for ourselves we should willingly grant to others. And every engineer should, I think, also become a respected member of whatever labor organizations prevails in his industry. For instance, the members of the city engineering department should be members of whatever union formation exists among the city employees, whether it is in a straight "industrial" form of a "craft" form with a central municipal industrial labor "council" upon which the "crafts" are all represented. Possibly there would be less trouble with municipal strikes if such were the case, for out of mutual understanding frequently grows agreement.

Besides, where are we to stand when this much-talked-of "democracy in industry" or "co-operation between capital and labor" is brought about, and capital sits on one side of the director's table with labor on the other, as per the "Whitley" and some of the other even more promising schemes for securing that degree of harmony which is necessary if we are ever to have the "increased production" which the directors of the American Association of Engineers think so desirable? Are we engineers to be only "menials" remaining in the industrial family, supplicating for crumbs from the festive board, while the bricklayers,

plumbers, miners, trainmen, etc., all become principals?

And if the "law of supply and demand", which the directors of the American Association hold in such reverence that they expect it, unaided, to cure all the engineers' ills, should be tardy in necessitating the services of some of us engineers, are we to sit idly by and see our wives and children want? Are we to go out and compete for the jobs of our fellow-engineers, and thereby run down the level of our "rewards" still further; or what? The "law of supply and demand" is one of the fetishes of the times which our experience during the war should have destroyed but apparently has not. This obvious, natural law has never been handled scientifically for the benefit of the public, but has been left free to lumber around our industrial structure, hurting or helping whom it may, except when the "monopolists" have deliberately prevented it from working, to the public's injury and to their gain.

The sooner we make up to the fact that as a professional group we are primarily "workmen", and act accordingly, the sooner we will be able to provide our wives and children with those superior luxuries enjoyed to-day by the wives and children of bricklayers, machinists, tailors, plumbers and other "workers" who do not accept "recognition" as part payment for the services they render.

If, as I maintain, we are but "labor", we should take our place with labor. Certainly no one will contend that, as engineers, we are capital any more than is our aristocratic friend, the neighborhood plumber, unless it is merely in a matter of degree. Had we not neglected to take our place with labor, we might have led the way to better understandings of industry than have prevailed and to better lines of industrial action than those which have sometimes been followed and of which we may rightly disapprove.

The human race advances slowly; and, apparently, seldom until its stomach prompts the march. Probably the H. C. of L. will do for us engineers what nothing else ever has: Set us moving together in our own interests, which, in the end, I believe, will be very greatly for the benefit of everybody.

To-day we are too frequently but the creatures of "politicians" and "profiteers," doing their bidding, or at any rate practising our professions very largely by their leave. The order should be reversed. But there is no one going to do this reversing for us; we must do it ourselves. "In union there is strength."

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GARYISM AND 1920

(By Chester M. WRIGHT, in "Railway Conductor").

Just about a year ago Judge E. H. Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation, laid down the dictum of autoocracy in an address to the presidents of his subsidiary corporations. It was on January 12, 1919, that Judge Gary said:

"Make the Steel Corporation a good place for them (the workers) to work and live. Don't let the families go hungry or cold; give them playgrounds and parks and churches, pure water to drink, every opportunity to keep clean, places of enjoyment, rest and recreation; treating the whole thing as a business proposition; drawing the line so that you are just and generous and yet at the same time keeping your position and permitting others to keep theirs, retaining the control and management of your affairs; keeping the whole think in your own hands, but nevertheless with due consideration to the rights and interests of all others who may be affected by your management."

This is the gospel of the industrial autocrat. This is the tablet of stone handed down by the leader of this ancient faith to his underlings.

The substance of the Gary philosophy is found in two clauses of his decalogue. "Make the Steel Corporation a good place for them, keeping the whole thing in your own hands."

One year has passed since this address was delivered to an admiring circle of subsidiary presidents. It was a remarkable address. It is still remarkable, because Judge Gary still believes what he then said. Here is set forth the doctrine of every ruling caste, of every feudal lord, of every despot who has ever tried to make an intelligent last stand against change. The world's history is full of the stories of men who have sought to rule other men and who believed that they were entitled to rule. It is full of the stories of despots who have tried to make other people happy by giving them everything except freedom.

And the history of the world is filled with the dramatic stories of men who have scorned everything else until they gained freedom!

Something stirs in the hearts of men that urges them on and on towards freedom and not in all of the conniving of all the ages has a single man found a way to stop that restless, ceaseless urge.

Judge Gary believes he knows what "his" workmen want and he is certain that he knows best what they ought to have. He echoes the thoughts of hundreds who have gone before him. Kind despots and brutal despots have said the same thing since the dawn of history. But when it was ordained that each individual should have a will and a conscience and an intelligence it was ordained nothing. The number of this year

that each should wish to exercise those functions to the full of their capacity. That is why despotism is not enduring. That is the real reason why only freedom is enduring. That is why every human intelligence seeks in its own way to achieve its concept of freedom.

Judge Gary does not say to himself, "The King knows what is best for me and knows best what I ought to have, and therefore I will be content to do as the king wishes and to have what the king gives me." That idea would be unthinkable to him. It would be detestable. He joined gladly with all other Americans to undo a king of that kind when we were at war. He rejoices that the despotic kaiser is overthrown and his institutions of oppression uprooted. Strange, then, is it not, that Judge Gary should have for his creed much the same creed that served Wilhelm?

Somewhat the idea has been set up that freedom and democracy are good in our political life, but not good in our industrial life. This is perhaps so because our political institutions of freedom were set up before our industrial system came into being. But there is in truth no dividing line. Life is an entity. It is a complete thing. It is only by arbitrary decision that freedom may obtain in one-half of life, while unfreedom persists in the other half. To the life of work must come freedom and democracy, just as surely as it has come to any other part of our existence.

Since Judge Gary laid down his gospel there has been a great strike in the industry over which he rules. His kingdom has been thrown into upheaval. There has been a great refusal to abide by the dictum that the great chieftain knows best for all. And, in truth, the end of the king's rule has come, for, regardless of what the king may think, his sway will never again be absolute.

When freedom finally comes to the kingdom of steel it will be better for the world. The co-operation of free men is ever better than the service of slaves.

It is not set down anywhere in irrevocable law that one man shall order the lives of four hundred thousand. Men have used everything from sorcery to machine guns to secure the persistence of a law of that kind, but there is a time fixed for the fall of every one. It is written in the stars and graven in men's hearts that freedom is the destiny of mankind. Not half freedom—not freedom for a part of the day, not a little freedom—but freedom, all-pervading and all-inclusive.

It is now a year since the steel king's pronouncement of absolutely rulership. The year has proved him



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is 1920, and if you think of all the nineteen hundred and nineteen years that have gone since years began to be numbered, and of all the years that went before that, it is strange and amazing what thoughts are being thought by some men today!

But most men are thinking toward progress—the ordered progress that brings happiness and peace in freedom's opportunities.

God, what a world, if men in street and mart,
Felt that same kinship of the human heart,
Which makes them, in the face of fire and flood,
Rise to the meaning of True Brotherhood.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Prof. Dale Goes to University of Toronto as Director of Social Service Department

Professor J. A. Dale, who has been Professor of Education at McGill University since the foundation of the chair in 1908, has resigned in order to accept the invitation extended to him by the University of Toronto to become director of its social service department, with the title of Professor of Social Science, and he will take up his new duties next session.

In accepting this new position, Professor Dale is continuing further upon the road which he commenced to travel when as a board school boy in Birmingham, he won the first of the scholarships which were the sole means whereby he went on from school to grammar school, from grammar school to Mason Science College, subsequently Birmingham University, and from college to the University of Oxford, where, in Merton College, he won the open Classical Exhibition; for education and common life have never been divorced from one another in Professor Dale's mind.

It was the nature of the work in which he became engaged after leaving Oxford, and the brilliancy displayed therein, which led to McGill inviting him to occupy the new chair in 1908. As tutor at the Borough Road Training College, Isleworth, 1902-1903, and as Oxford Extension Lecturer in Literature, from 1902 till 1908, in which capacity he travelled the length and breadth of England, he won wide recognition; and just as his chief strength in England had been the number of contacts which he had managed to effect between university life and the public at large, so the intention of McGill was that he should rather be a professor at large than a lecturer in the lecture theatres of the university, and he has addressed of late anywhere between fifty to seventy meetings outside the university each year.

It has been in harmony with the fact that he was one of the first members of the executive of the Workers' Education Association in England, now a most powerful body, that he has been, in Canada and in Montreal, associated with the foundation of the considerable number of small organizations in which his loss will be chiefly felt.

He has also, however, been associated with almost every major body concerned in the forwarding of education in Canada. Immediately upon coming to Canada he was made a director of the Dominion Education Association, and shortly afterwards he was made a member both of the Council of Public Instruction for the province of Quebec, and of the Committee of the Canadian Club, Montreal, whose proceedings have all been edited by him.

At McGill he was the founder of the McGill School of Physical Training, the first of its kind in Canada, and, when the war broke out, the first to train the masses who did magnificent work in the war. The Social Workers' Fed-

eration began in one of Prof. Dale's classes, and he was president of it until 1918. This federation paved the way for the present department of social service, which was brought about by the joint efforts of Sir William Peterson and Prof. Dale.

He was a member of the executive Canadian Committee for Mental Hygiene, which, commencing with studies of shell-shock, has extended itself until it covers the whole field of mental hygiene, and has done especially good work in connection with the feeble-minded and the insane in the West.

From November, 1918, to August, 1919, when McGill undertook with the other Canadian Universities to release a professor for the work of the Khaki University, Col. Tory especially asked that Prof. Dale might be the representative sent by McGill, which kindly agreed, and Prof. Dale went all over Belgium, France, and the occupied part of Germany, carrying a vital message to the soldiers at a critical time in their lives.

Amongst his many minor activities, as some may deem them, though Prof. Dale does not so regard them, have been his chairmanship of the committee which founded the University Settlement, of which he was for many years the president, and is now the vice-president. This settlement was

founded in 1910, in two tiny tenements, and with practically no income, whereas it has now a large property and a total income of well over \$10,000. He was also the first honorary secretary of the City Improvement League. In 1910, he was sent to New York in connection with the first Child Welfare Exhibition held here. The founders of the People's Forum unanimously decided upon him as their first president. He is a member of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association.

—JOII—

Why Be a Teacher

On Monday, January 26, the members of Window Washers' Union, Local No. 12,865, Chicago, went on strike when the contractors refused to agree to their demands.

Last Saturday afternoon all demands of the window washers were agreed to and on Monday they were back at work. The only employers that have failed to sign the demands of the workers are the City Hall and the public library.

Under the new agreement the members of Window Washers' Union, Local No. 12,865, will receive a flat minimum of \$36 a week for the first six months, and \$40 for the next six months; extension ladder work, scaffold work and acid work to be \$1 an hour for the first six months and \$1.10 thereafter.

The 44-hour week has been granted, time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays.

Joins Labor Party

George Cadbury, Jr., well-known as the manufacturer of Cadbury's Chocolate and a member of the family who built the garden city of Bourneville, has recently resigned from a liberal association to which he belonged and has joined the Labor Party. He is quoted by the Manchester Guardian as saying:—

“I am attracted to the Labor Party, which has a definite program of reform and which is in living contact with the needs of the people. I believe the Labor Party is the only party at the present time which takes a wide view of our duty to the peoples of Europe and the native races in other parts of the world.”

PRESS CLERKS FORM NEW UNION IN LONDON

London. — A crowded meeting was held in the Essex Hall, Strand, for the purpose of forming a branch of the National Union of Clerks, to cater solely for the interests of the clerks employed in and around Fleet Street in the various newspaper offices. Messages of congratulations and good wishes were received from the following:

Lord Northcliffe: “I was glad to hear that you are founding a branch of the National Union of Clerks for those who are engaged in the highly technical clerical work connected with newspaper organization. If I were a clerk I would join the union for the sole purpose of improving the status, conditions and earnings of myself and my fellows.”

Lord Burnham: “I express my feelings of sincere good will and fellow feeling to the newspaper and printing clerks, to all the men and women clerks, and especially to those men and women clerks who are working in the newspaper trade. Happily the relations between myself and those who are employed in my office have always been of a cordial character.”

Sir George Riddell: “As a trade unionist of many years' standing, I congratulate the clerks on having formed a trade union.”

Other messages were also received from the London Society of Compositors, the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, and the National Union of Journalists.

The chairman, F. Hughes, assistant general secretary of the National Union of Clerks, said the newspaper trade, so far as London was concerned, was now one of the most highly organized industries in the country. Twenty London newspapers were represented that evening, as well as a number of publishing houses, printing firms, and news agencies. The messages received from prominent newspaper proprietors were indicative of the manner in which the movement had been received. The resolution forming the branch was carried unanimously and the election of officers was proceeded with.

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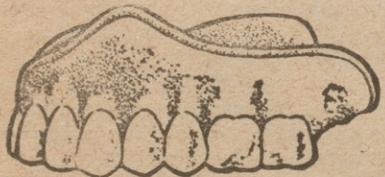
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TRADE UNIONISM -- AN IDEAL

In these tremendous days, when the star of Trade Unionism is very much in the ascendant, there is a danger lest we take too materialistic a view of our Trade Unionism. What is Trade Unionism? "An organised association of the workmen of any trade or industry for the protection of their common interests"! Yes, Trade Unionism is all that. But that definition barely covers the strictly materialistic side of Trade Unionism. It is infinitely more than that. Trade Unionism is a crusade. It is a spiritual force for the uplifting of mankind. It is the strong helping the weak, fulfilling the injunction: "Bear ye one another's burdens." Trade Unionism is the antithesis of selfishness. A genuine Trade Unionist does not seek his own advancement, but the improvement of the conditions of life of all his fellows.

Trade Unionism is an ideal. The pioneers of Trade Unionism saw a vision, not a vision of bigger wages only, but of improved working conditions, of perfect freedom for the toilers of a share in the management of industry. They saw in Trade Unionism their only hope of obtaining justice. Their vision was not a materialistic vision — it was a spiritual ideal, that filled them full of a burning zeal, that gave them the necessary courage to surmount all obstacles, break down all opposition.

Their fight was up-hill work. Bunyan's Hill Difficulty had to be faced — the lions were very much in evidence to knock the heart out of them. But they had seen a vision. They saw the light and followed it. It has always been, and still is to-day the spiritual in Trade



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unionism which provides the driving force. The men who are the pillars of the strength in our movement are the men who have seen the vision, who have realised the spiritual power of combination for a common ideal. Genuine Trade Unionism includes one of the greatest ideas of any age: the Brotherhood of Man. A person who has the spiritual conception of his Trade Unionism recognises this fact, and regards all men as his brothers.

Place in juxtaposition two men, members of the same Trade Union. One is a cord member. He pays his contribution with metronomic regularity (through a collector). He makes no secret of his motive in being a Trade Unionist. He is a member because he recognises that to be is the best way to improve his status. There is no sentiment in the matter. There is no obligation on his part towards any other member of the organisation. It is simply a question of business.

The second is one who regards his Trade Unionism as part of his mission in life for the uplifting of mankind. He is one who has a clear conception of the spiritual power of Trade Unionism. This man is one of the pillars of his branch — reliable, enthusiastic, his spirit is contagious.

The former is the materialist. The latter, the missionary. The former has only the shell. The latter has the kernel. The former is a stagnant pool. The latter is a clear, quickening spiritual force. Our Trade Unionism if it is to be effective, progressive, vitalising, uplifting, must not be content with questions of working conditions and wages. It must be a vehicle, a sacred crusade, to help us on towards the City of Vision. We are marching forward with quick and certain step, but we shall "get there" more quickly and more easily if we catch true spirit of our Trade Unionism. The materialistic Trade Unionist can only claim selfish ends, but the genuine article can lay claim to a far nobler object — that he did his best to help his brother man, which is after all one of the chief reasons why we are here.

H. B.

SAYINGS OF GREAT MEN

"The public be damned. I'm not running the roads for the benefit of the public. I am running the roads for MY OWN BENEFIT." — Cornelius Vanderbilt, of the N. Y. C. R. R.

"To hell with the Constitution." — Major McClelland, commanding State militia during the Colorado miners' strike, July, 1903.

"The damned fools don't know what is good for them." — J. Pierpont Morgan, speaking of striking steel workers, 1901.

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UNREST CONCERNS JUSTICE

(By Henry Ford)

IT would surprise many employers of labor to learn that the unrest among their men does not primarily concern money. That is to say, the central thought of the major part of our citizens who are becoming concerned about our social and industrial problems is not "more money at any cost", but "justice".

Certainly justice will mean more money in many places. Certainly no industry can be said to be justifying itself which survives at the expense of its employes and thrives upon their losses.

But there is this to say, if justice were done and it so happened that justice did not mean more money, there would be a great wave of real, not temporary, contentment sweep over the working world.

If it were shown and proved that wages as they exist everywhere today were strictly just and equitable, forming an unimpeachable balance between producer and consumer, there would be instant satisfaction with the wage scale.

Why? Because what men miss is not the extra money in their pay envelope, but the sense of justice in their hearts. They want to live in a world that is playing square with them. They want to be at peace with their fellow-men. True,

they want prosperity, but they do not want it at the cost of injustice to others.

The hardest burden of poverty is not its deprivation, but its bitter reflection that the other side of poverty is the injustice of successful greed.

So, while the disraerly elements want nothing so much as to ravage the firm's bank account, the true rank and file of the laboring world wants a system of labor and reward that is equitable and just in itself, no matter what its figures may show. It wants a world founded on rectitude. It wants to know that the square-deal rules. It wants to know that it is neither being taken advantage of, nor is taking advantage of any other.

It is a phase of the human spirit we are dealing with, and whenever we fail to see that, we run afoul of elements which are most vital to social industrial stability.

Here is where all conferences and committees fail. They meet each other, one to force the other forward and one to force the other back. They are combatants from the start. They talk about dollars. One side tries to get the other side's dollars away from it by disputing that side's ownership of the money; equally disputatious and ma-

terial-minded they simply shut out any high considerations. And the result is what anyone might have foreseen.

We must get a higher meeting ground. We have got to get together to consider what complete industrial justice is, regardless of which side will be most affected by that justice when it is arrived at. We must keep it high and above all our petty selfishnesses and ambitions. We must, indeed, have but one ambition—the noble ambition to be one of the creators of industrial justice.

And if we find that justice means adjustment of working conditions, of wages, the admission of workingmen to profit-sharing and to a part in the management at it affects them, then we must consider who will contribute the difference made by changed hours and wages, and we must consider how these changes cansefely be put into effect without disturbing the business in its standing.

All this can be arrived at with great friendliness and common sense between employers and employes if they only seek the higher unity and not their own limited interests. And if so be an employer, having been once a workingman himself, sees the need of adjustments and makes them before his men ask him, so much the better—his act means a great increase in confidence and a new feeling that the world still has a square deal left in it.

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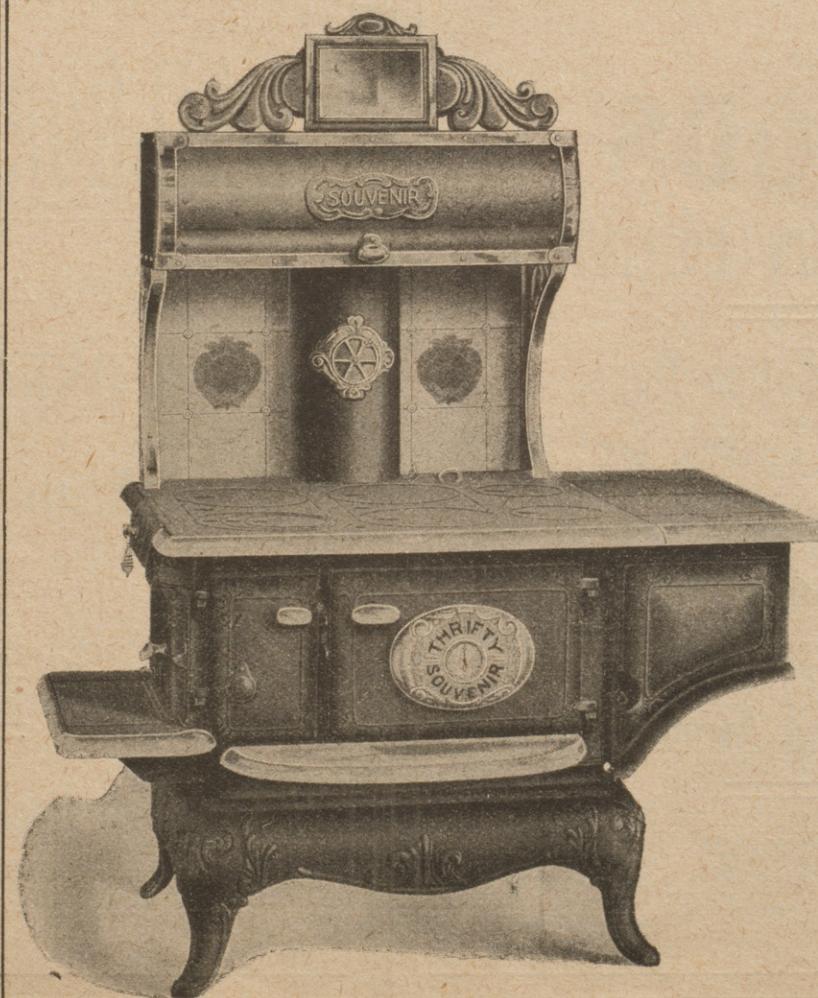
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